

## From Sparta to Spencer Street: Greek Women in Hawai'i

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A small but vital ethnic group, the Greeks, occupies a unique place in Hawai'i's complex multi-cultural society. Yet there has been little awareness to now of the presence of these non-Anglo men and women. What is their place here, and what can we learn in particular from the women's lives? Before I turn to the women, I want to, first, discuss why the Greeks have been overlooked in Hawaiian historical studies and, second, examine the background out of which they came.

The Greeks have been ignored partly because the men were not recruited for plantation labor. Unlike the Russians, Norwegians, Spanish, and other Europeans who were imported directly by the sugar industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Greeks arrived first on their own and then by chain migration, the earlier male arrivals assisting later males with ticket money, housing, and jobs, and then extending to the women offers of marriage or the protection of established homes.

A second reason for historical neglect is that they have been officially absorbed into other Caucasian groups. Hawai'i's Greeks were counted only once before now, and that was in the 1900 Census when fifty-five were enumerated. They were miscounted, however, for the Census added forty-two Galicians to their number and failed to record the presence of several of the thirty-six Greeks in residence.<sup>1</sup> Since the turn of the century, census and population studies have included them with "Caucasians" or Europeans from "other countries."<sup>2</sup> Unofficially at the informal level of everyday life, the Greeks have been considered "haoles." This latter assumption is as misleading in its own way as the 1900 Census. When I was a child in Hilo and Honolulu, among my immediate and extended Greek family and friends, we had an ethnic in-joke. If one of us appeared to the others to be getting out of line or too self-important, the offender was reminded, "Hey, you're not a haole,

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you're a Greek." If a non-Caucasian taunted one of us with, "You damned haole," our sense of apartness showed in the reply, "I'm not haole, I'm Greek."

Low visibility is a third reason. A comparable study to mine, that of a core group of 230 Greeks in Des Moines, Iowa, reveals that the Greeks have been one of the least conspicuous minorities in that middle sized city.<sup>3</sup> They have no identifiable residential areas, little friction with the surrounding community, the need for few special services, and few businesses designated as ethnic. At the same time and to the surprise of the investigator, they think of themselves as distinct from the larger community. They support an Orthodox church, are active together in business, keep in touch with friends and relatives in Greece, have returned to Greece to visit, and have been visited in turn by kin from there.

In Hawai'i between 1879 and World War II, approximately eighty-five male pioneers, chiefly from the Sparta area in the Peloponnesus, settled on O'ahu and the island of Hawai'i. Between 1903 and 1939, twelve Greek born women came to live here. There has been a fresh infusion of new first generation immigrants since 1945, and a number of these have been women who have joined the primary group. In addition, several hundred second and third generation Greek Americans have settled in Hawai'i between 1900 and the present. But I am limiting my discussion here to the twelve first generation pre-World War II women for the following reasons. First, this group, which contains young girls to old women, is an historical reflection of female immigrant experiences. The group represents a spectrum that ranges from almost total lack of assimilation, to a partial accomodation to Hawai'i's emerging culture, to an acceptance of the new society while yet maintaining socio-cultural distinctiveness. Second, the Greek women are examples of the force of individual human lives caught up in but not dominated by larger events. While they initially followed the men 10,000 miles, they have not been just passive agents upon whom a new and alien culture imposed itself, but have in varying degrees transported values and customs and kept them alive. Third, in them we can see what it means to be Greek and female in Hawai'i.

The Greek background out of which they came involves history and politics, nationality and ethnicity, economics and family structure, language and religion. To be born Greek is to feel different. Greeks are connected to a 3000 year old historical greatness. They are simultaneously aware of a history of terrible suffering. For 2000 years the country has been the land of invasions, its people cruelly overrun and oppressed by the Romans, Franks, Venetians, the Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians, Italians, and Germans. A fierce struggle for survival has undoubtedly intensified *ethnikos*, or Greek ethnicity. Regional and class differences do, of course, exist among them, but Greece's definition of a Greek is inclusive. If one parent is a Greek, the child is so. Nor can nationality be transferred or eradicated. For example, although Byzantine Greece was conquered by the Turks in the fifteenth century, one can be born and raised in Constantinople, or present day Istanbul, and can be descended from generations of Turkish born Greeks, and yet never be considered Turkish. *Ethnikos* is also a universal human quality which, paradoxically, strengthens

its force. As Harold Isaacs has said in his brilliant *Idols of the Tribe*, one's basic identity is intimately connected to the body and, by extension, to one's family, kin, or group. The essential order of human existence is a primordial and persistent tribalism. One's identity is further integrated with the place where one lives, with one's name, language, history and origins, religion, and nation.<sup>4</sup>

The political, economic, and family structures of Greece are intricately woven into its history, too. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a country wide agricultural depression reached catastrophic proportions in a predominantly peasant culture. At the same time, a developing railroad and steamship technology made mass migration possible to an industrializing America. The Greek-American scholar Theodore Saloutos has calculated that from Sparta alone between 1890 and 1910 an estimated three-fourths of the eighteen to thirty-five year old male population departed.<sup>5</sup> Hawai'i, with its own growing trade and commerce and need for workers, was an effective if lesser "distant magnet."<sup>6</sup>

What does it mean to be Greek and female? Left behind by an exodus of men that devastated whole villages were the women. William Miller, in *Greek Life in Town and Country*, has described poor women toiling early and late in the fields and olive groves and clearing stones off the roads.<sup>7</sup> Economically better off females shared a bleak fate, too. All were trapped in a patriarchal society with a rigid land and dowry system. By 1900 a large surplus of women, big families, diminishing reserves of land, and severe rural poverty made the system especially cruel and archaic. Historically, the concept of land ownership is deep in Greek custom and law. The basic family has been a kin group that conserves, accumulates, and transmits property, principally land, from one generation to the next in equal shares among the children. Tied to the land concept has been a dowry system only now undergoing change.<sup>8</sup> From his daughters' young years, a father had to calculate what he could give for dowries in the way of land, money, or both, and what would be left for his sons to share. If the father's holdings could not support the sons, as many as possible, beginning with the oldest, were educated. They were then considered to have received their patrimony and to have added to the family's status. A daughter, however, was always a net economic loss. She might attend grammar or even high school but then stayed home and prepared her *prika*, or dowry, worked at household tasks, and helped with the younger children.<sup>9</sup> Working outside the home was considered demeaning, and marriage and the family a woman's only natural profession. The correct social situation was for the oldest girl to marry first, followed in descending order by her younger sisters. Nor could a daughter benefit from her brothers marrying well-dowered women because that property went to the new family. If her father could not supply her dowry, her brothers inherited the obligation. Many men emigrated in order to earn money to send to their sisters, and some of these men became old bachelors doing so. Without a dowry it simply did not matter how beautiful or pure the girl was (and purity was of great concern), she could not marry.

Marriage was a bargain with terms, and divorce infrequent and only justified by church laws on the grounds of infidelity.

An alternative for a woman after mass male emigration began was to have a marriage arranged for her by relatives or friends to a Greek man in or from America. The man would have been released economically and psychologically from the constraints of the system and yet would still want a Greek wife. This practice often meant the wife was many years younger than her husband. Another alternative was provided by emigrating men taking their women kinfolk away from Greece or sending for them, for daughters and single women could get married abroad.

Religion and language have also played an integral role in Greek women's values and behavior. Greeks have absorbed into Christianity an ancient polytheism. In the countryside there still exists a vigorous folk religion epitomized by belief in natural spirits and the danger of the evil eye. Established during the division of the Roman Empire, the eastern half of Christianity became centered in Constantinople, developed into Orthodoxy, and remained Greek among the alien and frequently hostile Turks.<sup>10</sup> There as well as on the Greek mainland and islands, Orthodoxy has been a powerful unifying political force against invaders.

With a doctrine formulated in the fourth century, with its ancient recurring rituals of the great events of life and death—birth, baptism, name days, weddings, funerals—with a liturgy accompanied by chanting and by the fumes from warm incense filling the church, Orthodoxy is a religion of great power. Transferred to America in the nineteenth century, the Church has been a central method by which immigrants have kept to the old ways. In the absence of a formal church structure in Hawai'i between the first settlement and 1965, the Greeks observed their religion in a variety of ways: through visiting clergy, by attending the Episcopal church which did not proselytize them, or informally among themselves. Somehow all but two of the twenty-four second generation children were baptized Greek Orthodox. The most devout women have kept in their homes little altars consisting of *eikons*, or small painted pictures, with lamps or candles before them. Following ancient custom, they have prayed morning and evening in solitude.

The Greek church abroad has been historically responsible for operating Greek schools and teaching the language. In the absence of one in Hawai'i until the establishment of Saints Helen and Constantine Church in Nuuanu Valley in 1965, language transmittal was a burden placed on the women at home with young children. The twelve first generation women represent not just varying degrees of religious belief but also a continuum of linguistic orientation from monolingual Greek usage to bilingualism.<sup>11</sup>

The first Greek woman to reach Hawai'i was *Athena Geracimos Lycurgus* in 1903.<sup>12</sup> She was born in Sparta, the oldest daughter and second child of a family of nine children. Her father Nicholas Geracimos was a lawyer who had status but little money. On her mother's side she was descended from a national hero of the Greek War of Independence (1825–32) against the Turks.

Her relatives were prominent in government circles, and Athena was said to come from "a good family." The oldest sons were trained for the law. She and her sisters attended high school, but then she stayed home and helped her mother with the younger children and the housework.

Sparta in 1903 was little more than a large village built around a square, with two or three long streets and unpaved cross lanes. But its setting in a beautiful valley of lemon groves and rhododendrons is memorable. Through the valley runs the Eurotas River, with willows drooping to the water. Along the banks Helen of Troy is said to have strolled. The Geracimos family, following custom for all but the very poor, spent the warm season of each year in a "summer village," Tzinzina, nestled in the nearby hills.

George Lycurgus had left a futureless Vasara, near Sparta, in 1877. He arrived by steerage in New York with \$15.00 in his pockets and worked his way across country. A restless adventurer and a clever entrepreneur, he eventually reached Hawai'i in 1889 where he joined other enterprising Greek men and built up several businesses.<sup>13</sup> One was the Sans Souci Hotel which he operated in the 1890's, and another the Union Grill in downtown Honolulu after 1901. He sent for friends and relatives from Greece to work for and with him. He moved into a central position in the growing Greek community because of his own developing economic stability and because he established a family and was directly or indirectly involved in bringing eleven of the twelve Greek women to Hawai'i. He became to all *barba yórghi*, or "Uncle George" as in later years he was known throughout the Islands. But before this happened, in 1903 he returned to Greece. His double purpose was to see the mother he had left twenty-six years earlier and to obtain a wife. In Sparta the forty-six year old man met and married the beautiful nineteen year old Athena Geracimos of impeccable respectability.

Athena's arrival in America first class was memorable to both of them and a shock to her, for they handed down the event to their children as a family anecdote. George Lycurgus left his young wife on the New York City dock while he searched for a porter. The Salvation Army came and tried to talk with her, but she spoke no English. When he returned and said, "Let's go," they thought he was trying to force her to accompany him. The Salvation Army was concerned about the unscrupulous practice at that time of the importation of women from Europe as prostitutes. Police and interpreters were called. George Lycurgus finally produced a marriage license, and Athena assured everyone she was married to him. She was always fond of the Salvation Army after that and made it one of her charities in Hilo.<sup>14</sup>

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*Top*: 1934—Hawaii National Park

Bird Park picnic, clockwise around the picnic table: Constance Geracimos, Pota Geracimos, Poppy Detor, Nicky Detor, Athena Lycurgus.

In order of arrival in Hawai'i: Athena Lycurgus (1903), Poppy Detor (1920), Pota Geracimos (1921).

*Bottom*: On the old *Lurline*, 1938: George Lycurgus and his daughter, Georgina Maggioros; and first generation Kay and Joan Maggioros.

*Photographs from the author's collection*







In Hawai'i Athena Lycurgus's life reflects a surface accommodation to a new language and customs but a deeper lack of assimilation. In 1903 the ratio of Greek men to women, in Hawai'i as on the mainland, was thirty to one. The difference here was that she was the only one. Settling in Honolulu in a house on Beretania Street (on the site of the present Board of Water Supply), she was befriended and taught English by three sisters who were neighbors, a friendship several informants have said was a "lifesaver" for Athena. Her early letters back to Greece express a cheerful interest in bazaars she attended, pretty dresses made for her by seamstresses, and dancing at the Hawaiian Hotel. She, George, and their household help lived comfortably across the street from the large rooming house where the "Greek boys" who worked for Lycurgus lived. They treated her kindly—she wrote that they gave her beautiful and thoughtful gifts of silver, china, bowls of fruit, and stationery. The couple welcomed a daughter whom they named Georgina, the first all-Greek child born in Hawai'i. George in 1904 leased the Volcano House and soon after acquired the Hilo Hotel. Athena divided her time between Honolulu and the Volcano House and within a short time had a clear grasp of her husband's enterprises and sugar stocks. After a year's trip back to Greece, during which their second child and first son Leo was born, she succeeded in bringing to Hawai'i her younger brothers George and Mitchell. Her letters recount pleasant summer family gatherings at the Volcano with music and dancing, and outings like hiking and horseback riding. She was pleased that their daughter during the school year attended "the best school in Honolulu, Punahou."<sup>15</sup>

Her letters also attest to her thoughts dwelling in Greece. She wrote: "I am melancholic and nostalgic, abstracted and absent-minded. My mind is always there with you." Her father fell ill in 1910, and she wanted to bring her next younger sister Poppy to Hawai'i but could not work out the details:

You are wishing to be here and I am wishing to be there. My Poppy, that was my best life—as a young girl in Tzinzina. Now I have all the best, but I am remembering that life. . . . The time will pass . . . and we will be all together. Tell father when I am going to be there with God's help.

Little Georgina received five dolls for Christmas, and Athena put away four of them to take to her own young sisters in Sparta.

When the Lycurgus family travelled back to Greece the second time for the birth of their third child Nicholas, events intervened to keep them there: the Greek-Bulgarian Wars of 1912-13, her father's death, and World War I. George Lycurgus had in the meantime purchased a large house in Athens in

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*Top left:* Left to right, on Spencer Street: Coralia Souslides and her mother, Despina Psalti.

*Top right:* 1945—Makiki Heights  
Urania Michopoulos.

*Bottom:* 1934—Beach Picnic  
Coralia Souslides, Valentine Anastasopoulos, Despina Psalti, Julia Sideris,  
Julia Anastasopoulos, Aphrodite Chrones.

*Photographs from the author's collection*



which they lived. When it was possible to travel, he returned to Hawai'i in 1920 with Georgina and with the newly married John and Poppy Detor. Feeling unwell, Athena remained in Greece with their sons until 1922. Back in Hilo, where the Lycurguses now settled at the Hilo Hotel, there seems to have been a good adjustment. She became fluent in English, although she retained a slight accent, and her name appeared in the social columns of the *Hilo Tribune Herald*. She joined the Hilo Women's Club and became active in the family hotels, supervising the employees, overseeing the laundry and gardens, and performing a daily favorite occupation of arranging fresh flowers for the dining room tables. Through her efforts the Hilo Hotel especially gained a reputation for hospitality and charm. Her work was considered by her family as "giving her something to do." When she drew money for it she primarily sent it to sisters, brothers, and other family members in Greece. A picture emerges of a busy, productive, pleasant woman with conflicting commitments. As one informant has said, "She was always thinking of Greece and wishing to return. She made friends here, but actually he [George] made most of them."

She made three more journeys back to Greece. The first in 1927 was for her daughter Georgina's marriage to an Athenian, and the second in 1932 was to see her daughter and to attempt to arrange a sister's marriage. Money, however, was in short supply during the Depression, and this caused her acute concern which was only alleviated by her enjoyment in Georgina's growing family. She did discover that she missed the weekend cottage she and George had built at Kaūmana: "Wherever someone has his house he feels for the place and wants to return."<sup>16</sup> Her dear sister Poppy moved to Hilo in 1933 and provided constant company. The sisters spoke only Greek to each other. Athena was planning still another trip to see her daughter and granddaughters when she learned she had cancer. In 1937 she died in Hilo. Against Greek Church law but because it was her wish, she was cremated. This permitted her daughter Georgina to take Athena's ashes back to Greece on a final journey. George Lycurgus, by contrast, who died in 1960, is buried on the Big Island which he grew to love before all other places.

Athena's sister *Poppy Geracimos Detor* in 1920 was the second Greek woman to settle in Hawai'i. Older than her sister when she emigrated, she always spoke English with a pronounced accent. She, too, felt the trauma of separation, but her double cultural loyalties were less conflicted, and she seems to have eventually worked them out.

Between 1880 and 1930 there were several ways for Greek men in Hawai'i to adjust to being without Greek women. Several married Portuguese or Hawaiian women or those of other races. These mixed families had their own adjustment patterns but are outside the scope of this study. Some Greek men stayed single all their lives. Others returned to Greece, after living in Hawai'i for twenty or thirty years, married, and remained there. John Detor came to Hawai'i in 1897 to work for George Lycurgus and returned to Vasara for a short visit in 1910 to see his mother and to bring back a young nephew, George Michopolos. When John acquired economic security his determination grew

to have a Greek wife and live in Hawai'i. He embarked once again for Greece, traveling in 1919 with Demosthenes Lycurgus, a nephew of George Lycurgus who had arrived in Hawai'i in 1892. John wrote of himself and Demosthenes, "We were prospective grooms looking for girls."<sup>17</sup> He matter-of-factly added that many girls and families were "applicants" and that a "bargain was struck" between Demosthenes and the Yatrakos family for the hand of their daughter Maria. The forty year old John rediscovered a grown up Poppy Geracimos. At the Lycurgus home in Athens a double engagement party was celebrated which seemed to portend that two new Greek wives would leave for Hawai'i. Demosthenes Lycurgus, however, had contracted the flu. He refused to postpone the wedding festivities, and John and Demosthenes were married within two days of each other. A week after his wedding Demosthenes was dead. His widow stayed in Greece.

Poppy Detor left Greece in June, 1920, with her husband John, brother-in-law George Lycurgus, and her niece Georgina. John Detor's notebook reveals that Poppy was ill and nervous but that matters improved when she had a reunion with her own brother George Geracimos in San Francisco. George had gone to Hawai'i in 1908, at the instigation of his sister Athena, to work for George Lycurgus. He returned to Greece to fight in the Greek-Bulgarian wars, came back to the United States and served in the American Army, then worked briefly in San Francisco and found there for himself a Greek wife. In Honolulu in 1921 the Detors were joined by George Geracimos and his bride Pota and shared a big house on old Kapiolani Street where they raised their first children together and celebrated Easter by baking Easter bread and cracking red dyed eggs for luck.

Cultural change for immigrants is hastened by their American born children. The Lycurgus sons, technically American citizens, were European born, and the daughter in adulthood returned to Greece to marry and live. Poppy went back in 1929 for a one year visit with her family, to try to find a wife for her youngest brother Mitchell, and so her sons could attend Greek schools. Her letters show that she intensely disliked the separation from her husband who was thoroughly committed to Hawai'i. In 1933 the Detors moved permanently to Hilo, and the second generation Detor children grew up to consider themselves "Hilo boys." They both served in the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II and married non-Greek girls, both assimilative influences on immigrant parents. One Lycurgus son married a non-Greek, but after his mother's death. Although they would like to, the Deter brothers in adulthood have not visited Greece, while the Lycurgus brothers have made a point of making several trips.

Poppy's life contained several other important cultural patterns. One was the adaptation of Greek folk beliefs to Hawaiian mythology and folklore. She feared the Greek evil eye, for example, and blended that into a belief in kahunas. She was convinced she saw and spoke with Pele as a beautiful woman with flowing hair, walking along the Hilo-Volcano road. Another pattern is that after her sister died, Poppy, now the only Greek woman in Hilo except for visits from Honolulu residents, extended herself into the community.

Besides taking over the supervision of hotel employees, she made friends among the Scottish and Portuguese wives of the men employed by plantations or in business in Hilo. John Detor was an enthusiastic joiner and enjoyed membership in several social organizations like the Shriners and Elks. Poppy did volunteer work in town for the Red Cross and was active in the woman's auxiliary of her husband's Masonic order, which further brought her into Hilo social life.

The second World War caused a severance of communications between Hawai'i's Greeks and their European families. Poppy was deeply anxious, and at the war's end sent clothing and food in large quantities to help her family get through the Greek Civil War. When John Detor died in 1958 she returned to Greece to live for five years with her beloved sisters. But her sons in Hawai'i and her third generation grandchildren were a strong lure in then drawing her back for good to the Islands. On the last day of her life in 1968, according to a daughter-in-law, Poppy peacefully crooned a Greek lullaby to herself. She is buried beside her husband in Hilo.

The sister-in-law whom Poppy Detor met in San Francisco was *Pota Demetrak Geracimos*. Born in a village near Sparta, she was the poorest of all the twelve women and the only one not of a higher socio-economic class than her husband. Her memories of Greece are the least affectionate:

I remember my village. There were no cemeteries. People were buried in the backyards, and my sister who died was buried in our backyard. Home was one large room made of stone. We slept there and cooked in the fireplace. My father's older brother went to America first, and then my father followed. My mother picked olives—that was how she maintained the family after my father left. I remember lying on the ground at the bottom of a tree and watching my sweet mother pick olives for pay. We ate dry bread and olives—that was the mainstay of our diet.<sup>18</sup>

One recalls Miller's description of poor peasant women at the turn of the century. The family suffered. Pota's older sister was raped, became pregnant, and was hidden by their mother until the baby could be secretly got rid of; otherwise, the girl would have been stoned by the villagers. To this day if a girl or woman is raped she is somehow considered to be at fault. The oldest brother was bitter at being denied his youth and an education. Seven years after the father's departure for the land where there was supposed to be gold in the streets, the father sent the ticket money. "We were lucky," Pota said. "Some men never sent for their families." Pota's mother, brother, and sisters made their exodus in 1907, the peak year for Greek emigration into the United States. They walked and got rides in carts from their village to the port of Patras, sleeping along the way in the open air. Pota recalls the bundles they carried, lived out of, and slept on. Because regulatory measures were beginning to be enforced, they were inspected first at the Greek port. She was sick in steerage during the crossing but revived at the intense excitement of seeing the Statue of Liberty. At Ellis Island they were again inspected—her family escaped the dreaded chalk marks on their shoulders indicating disease or deformity, or a mental or physical defect, and so escaped being shipped back to Europe. One has seen the photos of those admitted—solemn-eyed children,

staring straight ahead into the camera, thin-faced mothers in long dark dresses, their heads wrapped in kerchiefs knotted under their chins. Name tags pinned to their clothes, mother and children travelled by train to San Francisco and were met by Nicholas Demetrakopoulos who had Americanized their name to "Demetrak."

Life in San Francisco was austere. The father worked hard but could never make enough money for the family. Because he did not believe girls should go beyond grammar school, Pota went to work at fifteen in a Greek owned candy store. Before his emigration, Pota's father Nicholas had worked as a clerk for Nicholas Geracimos in Sparta. In San Francisco Pota met the son George Geracimos who had been mustered out of the Army. At eighteen she was a striking dark-eyed girl aware of sexual politics. The scarcity of Greek women in 1920 in the United States increased their value and contributed to few remaining single. Knowing her father was eager for the match, Pota accepted George Geracimos's proposal, thus simultaneously pleasing her family and dramatically improving her own status and economic situation.

In Hawai'i Pota's new sisters-in-law became her close friends, Athena Lycurgus becoming "almost like my mother." At the same time other forces were at work to dilute Pota's Greekness. Bernhard L. Hormann has designated the 1920's as the period of the formation in Hawai'i of a middle class comprised of recent haole immigrants engaged in professions, skilled labor, and small businesses.<sup>19</sup> Pota and George moved into this, with its concomitant emphasis on class distinctions, Republican conservatism, and haole supremacy. Neither spoke much Greek at home. They sent their daughters to the newly established English standard schools and to piano, dancing, and horseback riding lessons. But the Depression and George's bankruptcy in 1932 affected them severely. Both became Democrats and liberals. Economic hardship heightened domestic conflict, and Pota divorced George on the grounds of "failure to provide." She was the only one of the twelve women to thus sever her marriage. That she was able to enter the labor force and become self-supporting was partly due to the pre-Pearl Harbor step-up of defense spending—the small cafe she operated catered to government workers. Her racial tolerance increased when she made Hawaiian friends, when her older daughter married a Hawaiian-Portuguese man, and because Pota helped to raise the grandchildren. In the 1950's she sold real estate, and in the 1960's declared herself a feminist: "I have always been for the woman." She married again, a non-Greek, and expressed little interest in the newly established Orthodox church. After the death in the mid 1970's of her second husband, however, and to escape the isolation of old age, she has come to look forward to attending church on Sundays. Her memory and vision are failing, but during the liturgy she crosses herself automatically, as she did when a child in the church gallery in San Francisco and before that in her village. If life is circular rather than linear—that is, if it is like the great religions and mythologies have always comprehended it, a cycle of birth, life, death, and rebirth—then Pota's return in old age to religion and her recently expressed desire to see her village again are natural responses.

A group of four women, related to each other and originally from Constan-

tinople, came to Hawai'i between 1923 and 1939: *Valentine Souslides Anastasopoulos* (1923), *Despina Aslani Psalti* and *Coralia Psalti Souslides* (1930), and *Urania Souslides Giavis Michopoulos* (1939). In family order they are: grandmother, Despina Psalti; mother, Coralia Souslides, and daughters, Urania and Valentine. Their lives, too, were circumscribed and difficult. Despina Psalti was widowed at twenty-four and moved in permanently with her only daughter Coralia when Coralia was married at barely sixteen. Coralia's oldest child Urania remembers being told of the Turkish massacre of the helpless Armenians, and she recollects her family's fear when Greek friends were picked up overnight for questioning by the Sultan's agents. When the call came for Coralia's priest husband, Reverend Souslides, to serve God and his fellow Greeks in the new land, the two older women were reluctant to leave what was a hard but familiar environment. In America the family again faced prejudice, admittedly less virulent. The young daughters soon became aware of it and to this day are indignant when they describe their dignified father, the Priest, walking the Boston streets looking for a house for his family and being told by landlords that Greek tenants were unwelcome.<sup>20</sup>

The older first generation brought to America pride of heritage: "In this house Greek only will be spoken," the father decreed. The younger first generation that included Urania and Valentine sustained that heritage and at the same time acquired another. Two events of their young lives indicate how adjustment is made to two cultures. At the 1910 Greek Independence Day parade in Boston, prayers were offered for Greeks living under Turkish rule, American and Greek national anthems were sung, and the Greek flag, blue with a silver cross, flew alongside the stars and stripes. At a large Boston rally during World War I, Valentine sang the Star Spangled Banner. Interestingly, language usage set them somewhat apart, not only from Americans but from other Greeks. Because the father was church educated, he spoke *katharevousa*, a purist language based on classical syntax and vocabulary, while most European born Greeks use the *demotike* or popular form. Although Greek speakers can understand both, and although in Hawai'i there has been a leveling out process of the two, the sisters to this day retain *katharevousa* words in their speech which occasionally draws comments from other Greeks.

Peter Anastasopoulos and his brother Jim came to America from Vasara which was George Lycurgus's village. When they were young boys their father was murdered. Their widowed mother who toiled in the fields told them, "Don't stay here to work like I work. I want you to go to America and make money to live like a human being."<sup>21</sup> They came to Hawai'i to work for George Lycurgus in Hilo and at the Volcano. Peter made Hawaiian friends, served in the Army in the First World War, and moved permanently to Honolulu. After establishing himself in business with his brother and a partner, he, too, decided he wanted a Greek wife. He took a cross-country trip in 1923 and met and married Valentine Souslides in Boston.

Valentine now had a third culture to adjust to which by her own account took several years. She had developed a strong dramatic soprano voice and felt the lack of musical opportunities here, and she missed her close-knit

family. When her father died in 1930 and her sister Urania was widowed, she and Peter sent for her mother Coralia, grandmother Despina, and sister Urania's small child. They added a second story to their Spencer Street home which already housed two daughters and the Greek business partner. What was developing was a protective ethnic environment, reinforced by two other Greek families moving into the neighborhood. Valentine has laughingly called Spencer Street "Acropolis Hill," and, in fact, it resembled a microscopic community with the mothers and grandmothers sharing child care, daily visits, food, and recreation. All the second generation children called Despina *ya yá*, meaning "grandmother," and Coralia "Menya," a concocted form of "mother."

The four generation family is almost a capsule of the immigrant experience as it pertains to language usage. As Joshua Fishman has said, "mother tongue" usage decreases by generation and within a generation.<sup>22</sup> Despina Psalti emigrated to America in her forties and to Hawai'i in her seventies and never learned to speak, read, or write English. She recounted old folktales and superstitions to the second generation children who she helped to teach to say their prayers in Greek and to observe the Greek religious calendar. Because she preferred to stay at home and because she observed mourning for her husband for fifty-seven years until her own death in 1941 (she always wore long black dresses, and her only jewelry was a gold wedding band), she has been characterized as passive and sacrificial. But her tenacity in clinging to the old ways including language may have been a defence against further loss as well as a statement of identity. Coralia Souslides, in contrast to her mother, mixed Greek with broken but understandable English and in Boston had taught herself to read and write English. In Hawai'i she had a social life outside the home and especially enjoyed card games like poker which she played on occasion with non-Greeks. The two sisters Urania and Valentine, who had migrated when just children, progressed from a Greek monolingual childhood to a bilingual adulthood. They then came to speak more English than Greek. They also illustrate another language phenomenon. If a language is isolated over the years, its continued usage leads to its speakers expressing themselves in old or dated forms of speech and vocabulary. In Hawai'i Greek has not atrophied because Urania and Valentine and the other women have continued to interact over the decades with native speakers from Greece. The subsequent generations demonstrate Fishman's theories, too. For the daughters of Urania and Valentine, English is the mother tongue. Valentine's older girl is somewhat more proficient in spoken Greek than the younger daughter and can additionally read and write the language. Urania and Valentine's third generation grandchildren are essentially monolingual in English although the oldest among them, taught by their grandmothers, know a smattering of spoken Greek.

In other ways the family is a capsule of multi-culturalism. In 1939 the widowed Urania joined her sister's family in Honolulu, and in 1940 she married a well-to-do Greek man, George Michopoulos (John Detor's nephew). She came to identify partially with Hawai'i's haole society through volunteer hospital activities and Honolulu Symphony work. The Second World War



brought out her Greekness, her American patriotism, and her loyalty to Hawai'i. On the night of December 7, 1941, she donned a special Greek cross for the war's duration. In the 1930's Valentine became a competitive and highly skilled bridge player. During the war, like her sister, she extended lavish hospitality to Greek-American service personnel. Valentine's oldest daughter married a Greek-American naval officer in a traditional double crown ceremony in San Francisco. Urania's daughter and Valentine's second child both married non-Greek local men of whom the sisters are very fond. They are equally delighted with all their grandchildren. To the older Coralia Soussides, the conversion of a granddaughter to Episcopalianism was a serious affair; to her daughters Urania and Valentine it was far less so.

*Julia Constantopoulos Sideris* arrived in 1924 after Valentine Anastasopoulos and was the only one of the twelve unconnected to the others before she came. She soon entered their network. Like Pota, Valentine, and Urania, Julia Constantopoulos came to America as a child. Her father led the way from Pyrgos in the Peloponnesus, and Julia grew up in Greek communities in Lowell and Bedford, Massachusetts. She then moved to California. There she met Christos Sideris, a very poor boy from the island of Samos, who had put himself through the University of California by working in restaurants. With his new Ph.D., he and Julia married and came to Honolulu so he could be an assistant professor of botany at the University of Hawai'i. Walking down Fort Street the first week, in the town Julia has labeled as "small," she and Christos were approached by a man with extended hand: " 'Hello,' he said in Greek. 'You are the Siderises, aren't you?' He was Peter Anastasopoulos and it was the beginning of a lifetime friendship."<sup>23</sup>

Julia and Christos juggled two sets of commitments and two groups to which they belonged, the Greek and the academic. They were comfortable culturally and linguistically in both. Christos had sent money to Samos for many years, and in Hawai'i the couple transferred this sense of obligation to the Greek community. Julia traded child care with the other Greek women, and the families exchanged Christmas and Easter home celebrations. With their two sons they joined the country picnics, by now a tradition among the families and several of the single men, at Kailua Beach or in the old Coconut Grove, that usually featured lamb roasted over an open fire. A former neighbor in Manoa has characterized Julia and the Greek women, with their vigorous enjoyment of Greek dances, as life oriented. Julia's other life was that of faculty wife. She participated in a women's swimming club and volunteer sewing groups. During the Second World War she worked at the University censoring outgoing mail written in Greek.

What amounted to two cultures were not mutually exclusive. Christos's vocation in pineapple research that led to an international reputation was one synthesizing factor. Two Fulbright awards and other assignments took the Siderises abroad, and they used those opportunities to return to Samos and the Greek mainland. Another synthesizing factor was the Greek environment the Siderises created in their Hawaiian backyard. Christos hauled rocks to build terraced walls like those on Samos and planted fruit trees like those in

Greece. In addition, he developed an avocation of raising orchids and producing new hybrids in his own greenhouse. When their sons moved to California (one married a girl from Greece), and in order to be near them, the Siderises in the 1960's resettled in San Rafael. After her husband's death in 1965, Julia stayed on, eventually remarrying a non-Greek. Julia Jones keeps in touch by letters and occasional phone calls with two or three Greek women in Hawai'i who have seen her in California and whom she has visited in Honolulu.

All the Greek husbands in Hawai'i have in varying degrees believed their wives and daughters should fulfill traditional roles of wife, mother, and homemaker. Many of the wives, like *Aphrodite Coumandarkis Chrones*, have accepted this and agreed with it but have still managed to be their own persons. Jim Chrones, who arrived in 1907 to work for George Lycurgus, was probably among the most patriarchal. Two brothers married non-Greek women. Jim delayed marriage until 1927 when he returned to Sparta to see his mother. Aphrodite Coumandarkis grew up in Voulianos, a few miles from Sparta. Aphrodite was six when her mother died and left behind two sons and five daughters. Her father was very strict. "Today it is different," she has said. "My nieces, one is a lawyer, one a doctor. I stayed at home."<sup>24</sup> Aphrodite helped with all the *prikas*, and when her older sisters married she then took care of the house and cooked. She knew about Hawai'i through the man who became her first brother-in-law, George Andreos, who had gone to Hawai'i in 1888, was George Lycurgus's partner at the Sans Souci and the Union Grill, and returned to Greece to marry Aphrodite's sister and settle in 1908. The Chrones and Coumandarkis families knew and liked each other, and Jim Chrones's mother helped to pick out Aphrodite as his wife.

Several qualities help to explain Aphrodite's partial accommodation: practicality, kindheartedness, and a sense of humor. Arriving in Honolulu in early 1928, she felt the separation from home and family keenly but was determined to be positive: "If you put your mind you come so many miles, you have to learn to like it. You can't say, 'I don't like it.' That's no good. I don't cry. To have Jimmy see me cry? Never!" Characteristically, the first time she went to the beach, she put her head in the water, kicked her feet, and swam. Within a week or two of her arrival, holding a small chart in her hand outlining the money exchange, she went to town alone and shopped. Jim wanted a son, and Aphrodite amusedly recollects that when their daughter and only child was born, everyone Jim bet against took the money paid to them by him and put it in the bank for Catherine. When the opportunity arose to buy the Spencer Street house, they did so: "It cost \$9500 and another \$500 for repairs." Jim Chrones liked to say he made all the decisions, but she understood and influenced his investments, principally involving land.

More than the others, Aphrodite Chrones through the years has been an "urban villager" who has firm social controls on her family and orderly relationships. Certain historical events illuminate her position. The Greek Act of 1920 limited the migration of women and children unless accompanied or sponsored by family or near relatives. The U.S. Immigration Act of 1924 put a virtual halt to the great transatlantic migration. Far from ending group

consciousness, as Oscar Handlin has pointed out, restrictions intensified it.<sup>25</sup> Arriving in her maturity, Aphrodite attended a few English classes but then gave them up. She spoke only Greek to her daughter. She also adapted Greek sounds to English "loan words," adding a final vowel to English words ending in consonants: for example, *gasolini*, *ice crimi*, *steki*, *yarda*, *banka*, *marketa*. This is, incidentally, common practice among Greek speakers in America. Aphrodite delayed the naturalization process (citizenship was a group or family process in the early years) and only obtained a passport in 1954 in order to travel to Greece. Another aspect of being an urban villager is that she has lived in the same Spencer Street neighborhood for forty-five years. Her daughter Catherine Chrones Bukes has said that in her childhood it was like having five mothers in three houses.<sup>26</sup> When Catherine married a second generation Greek American from Pittsburgh, which delighted the elder Chroneses, Aphrodite either travelled to Pennsylvania every year or two to visit, or Catherine came to Hawai'i. In essence, her accommodation is pragmatic—she can live in Hawai'i as a Greek. When asked if she was still interested in Greek politics, she replied, "I don't have the vote there."

One family moved away from Spencer Street in the 1950's but two others have replaced it. A late marriage by one of the first generation men, Costa Roumanis, who first came to Hawaii in 1909 to work for Lycurgus, resulted in the emigration of Catherine Economou Roumanis in 1954 and her sister Eleni in 1972. They live a few doors from the Chroneses. Catherine has through the years visited Aphrodite daily, and together they read the village newspaper upon its arrival from Greece. The second family is that of Aphrodite's daughter. Catherine Bukes, her husband, and sons returned to Hawai'i to live in the 1960's, and the three generations share the remodeled and enlarged Spencer Street house. The house is essentially as it was, however, set among terraces filled with the orchids, anthuriums, and fruit trees Jim planted and tended over the years. It is also among encroaching high rise apartment buildings and increasing population density as the neighborhood undergoes rapid change. Aphrodite has adjusted to this, too: "I don't mind it."

Other patterns decribed in the study of Des Moines Greeks apply to the Chroneses. Aphrodite has encouraged the visit of family members from Greece, and some of them have stayed for several years. A recent visitor has been Andreos's daughter who is, of course, Aphrodite's niece. Aphrodite and her husband were among the moving spirits in establishing the Greek church in Honolulu and have generously supported it. Before Jim's death she said: "I've had a good life. I look after my husband—that's the main thing." Since his passing in 1977 she has been somewhat bereft, but her spirit continues. Partically crippled and suffering from poor eyesight, she has nevertheless held to a desire to see her surviving relatives in Greece. She has believed, too, that the hot baths near her village will help her arthritis. "God will help us to go," she said. In mid-1979, accompanied by Catherine Roumanis and Eleni Economou, the eighty year old Aphrodite embarked on a visit of several months to her native land.

Another devoutly religious and family minded woman who is her own

person and who simultaneously conserves the past while accommodating to the present and looking forward to the future is *Julia Theophiles Anastasopoulos*, who arrived in 1930. Jim Anastasopoulos came to Hawai'i in 1908, the year Julia was born. Patriotic to Greece and wanting to see his mother, he returned in 1912 to fight in the Greek-Bulgarian wars, then came back again to Hawai'i. In 1929 he went to Greece to marry.

Athena and Poppy Geracimos and Julia Theophiles' mother were first cousins. Her father was the only doctor in Vasara and the surrounding villages. There were twelve children. Julia played with the Lycurgus children when they came to the village in the summers, and she recalls the 1919-20 flu epidemic that took the lives of several of her own family as well as that of Demosthenes Lycurgus. Her brothers were educated to teach or to practice medicine or law, and she herself with a brother attended high school in Sparta and boarded with a family there, an unusual occurrence in those days.

In 1929, a month after meeting him, she married Jim at a monastery where the nuns helped her dress and where the priests who officiated still remember her. There was music and dancing to bazuki, guitar, and violin, and a repast for 150 people of lamb, the eggplant dish *mousaka*, and *dholmathes* or stuffed grape leaves. There was a small *prika*, too, but Jim told his bride, "We don't need those things. Leave them."<sup>27</sup>

Although the stock market crash affected and frightened them, upon reaching America they delayed their trip to Hawai'i in order to accompany Valentine Anastasopoulos' family from Boston. In Honolulu Poppy Detor and Pota Geracimos became Julia's closest friends. Only nineteen, she quickly accommodated herself, and there is still a touch of irritation in her voice when she recalls non-Greeks speaking loudly and slowly to her "like I was deaf." She took English lessons in an adult school program, listened to the radio, went to movies, and in three month's time understood English. She and Jim bought the third piece of property on Spencer Street, between Jim's brother Peter's house and the Chrones home. She learned to drive soon after.

Her youth helped her adjust, but it conversely meant that like Athena Lycurgus had been, she was homesick. She wrote to her parents almost daily the first few years and made a conscious effort to keep Greek culture and language alive by starting a Greek school at home for the young children. This was short-lived as her own son and daughter had not yet come to appreciate the value of fluency in two languages. When she spoke to them in Greek they replied in English; when she spoke in English they corrected her. It is probably no accident that she encouraged her children in the late 1950's and early 1960's to become public school teachers when it was not a popular career among Hawai'i's Caucasians.

Julia's family between 1930 and 1960 attended St. Andrews Cathedral where she arranged Greek baptisms with the Episcopal clergy for her many godchildren. She wanted her own children to be baptized in Greek churches, which they were, the daughter in California and the son in Greece. She was perhaps the most permanently affected in Honolulu by the Second World War in Greece. The Germans took hostage and executed her favorite brother

Anargyros, and the memory of that atrocity still causes her pain and sorrow. At the occupation's end and during the ensuing Greek Civil War, Julia brought her youngest sister to Hawai'i. Evangelia Theophiles De Vries has married and settled here. The sisters are very close.

Over the years, Julia, like Aphrodite Chrones, has known of her husband's investments and, in addition, has shrewdly and decisively added to them by helping to develop apartments and houses on the Spencer Street property, which she now manages.

Devoutly religious, long before the Church was built in Honolulu, she has always closely observed the major religious holidays of Easter and Christmas. At Easter, the most important, there is a seven week long pre-Lenten fast, and before Christmas a shorter one. Until recently she fasted by eating only vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit. Now her health will not permit such a strict regimen. The twelve days between December 24 and the Epiphany of January 6 are also an important holiday, and for New Year's Day through the years she has baked the *vasilopetta* or *pita* round bread that contains a good luck coin for the one who finds it. During World War II, because of the many Greek-American servicemen who asked for a church, she and Jim became keenly aware of the need for one. After the war they petitioned the Archbishop in New York, and when they returned to Greece in 1959 on their first trip in thirty years, they travelled to Constantinople to expressly ask the Patriarch for a Greek priest to be sent to Hawai'i.

In the Church today, which Julia and her husband thus helped to establish, one sees change occurring. The membership includes Russians, Chinese, Japanese, and people of mixed races. On a typical Sunday the liturgy is in English, Greek, and Slovenia, and on special occasions it may also be in Japanese and other languages. What may seem a dilution of ethnicity may in actuality be a strengthening force. Not discounting the importance of language usage, there are those like Donna Collins who have studied the structure of ethnicity and believe that this may be a determinant in the survival of ethnic groups.<sup>28</sup> In the Honolulu church the children and grandchildren attend and understand the service. Julia who is *nuna*, or godmother, for several children of mixed races, is comfortable with the change: "The children, they are beautiful." Another factor of continuation is the infusion of fresh immigration from Greece, so that the older first generation pioneer women, the newer first generation who have come since World War II, and second and third generation women, some of whom are of mixed races, all belong to the Aloha Chapter of the Philoptochos Society, the women's charitable association. It is this group that sponsors food fairs and bazaars at various local festivals.

Julia's acceptance of Hawai'i is unambivalent. "I was so young when I came, I was really brought up here." Yet she retains the Greek connection. She holds an interest in her husband's 250 year old village house and a little property of her own in Greece. More than any of the other families except for the Lycurguses, her children have a closeness with Greece and have lived there for several months to a year at a time. Her granddaughter speaks, reads, and writes Greek. This granddaughter recently was married in a Greek

Orthodox ceremony in Honolulu to a young man raised in the faith in Maryland, and the wedding celebration included Greek dancing and music. When she entertains visitors, Julia serves *feta* cheese and Greek caviar or the sweet thick Greek coffee accompanied by honey and almond pastries. Before her home altar, where she prays morning and evening, she is surrounded by photographs and snapshots of her family in Hawai'i and in Greece. She has thus documented her past, established her presence, and has extended herself into the future.

The last two women in this study are like the first two, sisters. They were preceded by a man, their grandfather George Lycurgus, but they arrived in 1938 ahead of their own father, Isidore Maggioros. This situation is indicative of how generational lines do not fall into set patterns. By all rights *Catherine (Kay) Maggioros Negrin* and *Joan Maggioros Triandafyllides* should be third generation. But because their Hawaiian born mother, Georgina Lycurgus Maggioros, married and settled in Greece, Kay and Joan were born in Athens and are first generation.

After their grandmother Athena Lycurgus's death in Hilo in 1937, Kay and Joan and their mother came to Hawai'i. Kay attended school in Hilo. When they returned to Greece before World War II with Athena's ashes, Kay wrote letters back to her Aunt Poppy Detor in which she recounted that Sparta with its blackberries, wild roses, and fir trees reminded her of the Volcano area. The older Maggioroses had resources beyond those of most Greeks—they lived in the Lycurgus house in Athens and Georgina (who is also called "Tig" which is short for her middle name of Antigone) retained her American citizenship. The family, however, was trapped in Greece by the war. Isidore Maggioros fought with the Greek Army in the Albanian mountains. During the German occupation the entire family, for their safety, remained indoors most of the time. The occupation took a terrible toll among the Greeks: a half million became tubercular, two million contracted malaria, and everyone had malnutrition.

Virtual refugees, the young Kay and Joan returned to Hawai'i in 1945 with their mother, their father following several months later. The girls became naturalized citizens in Hilo. They reentered the network established years earlier by their Lycurgus grandparents. In several ways the lives of Kay and Joan follow the pattern of their second generation mother, but in other ways they do not. Like their mother, both girls attended Punahou, but they then continued on to college. Tig Maggioros in the 1940's and 1950's worked but only in the family enterprises in Hilo, like her own mother Athena had done. Kay resided with Pota Geracimos's family while attending the University of Hawai'i in Honolulu, then along with her sister Joan took a step which was more usual for second generation daughters than for first generation women—they worked outside the home and away from the family environment. Kay lived in New York City, and after her marriage to a Spaniard, Francisco Negrin, operated a successful women's apparel factory in Mexico City. That marriage has meant that in the 1960's before immigration laws were once again changed, she had to relinquish her American citizenship. She and



Francisco now live in France, but their oldest son reads, writes, and speaks Greek and is planning to come to Hawai'i in 1980 to attend school and work. The two sons, like their father, are Roman Catholic and are the only children of first generation women who were not baptized Greek Orthodox. Kay, however, retains her Greek citizenship and religion.

Joan departed from her mother's roles while also following them. She worked and lived independently in Honolulu. Then in the late 1950's, while visiting in Greece, Joan married a Greek national whose grandmother and Joan's grandmother Athena Lycurgus were friends. Joan and Paul Triandafyllides live today next door to her parents outside of Athens. The younger Joan has been able to retain her American citizenship and has registered her sons as Americans, although Greece considers them Greek nationals. Joan and her family have made two extensive visits to Hawai'i from Greece.

These two younger women resemble the post World War II immigrant Greek women who have come to Hawai'i in that they are cosmopolitan and well-educated. Kay is multilingual, speaking Greek, French, English, and Spanish. Joan is completely bilingual in Greek and English. In other ways the two are remarkably like the earlier first generation women. Freed from the economic constraints of their grandmother Athena's generation, the younger women have still chosen to live where their husbands must or wish to live. They have travelled between Europe and Hawai'i and have interests in both places. They write with concern when someone is ill or when there is a birth, marriage, or death. Joan refers to her extended family as "the clan," and they have a yearly reunion in Greece, continuing the circle of their ethnicity.<sup>29</sup> The second generation mother, Tig Maggioros, however, is the most closely tied to Hawai'i. She travels frequently between Hawai'i and Greece, with a divided commitment like her mother Athena's though more satisfactorily resolved. In Athens Tig plays Hawaiian music and dances the hula at parties, and from there she carries on an extensive correspondence with people in Hawai'i. She is especially close to her Hilo based brothers.

A family friend of many years, a non-Caucasian from Hilo, has observed that the Greeks in spite of being Caucasians have something distinctive in their orientation to this day. He identifies this difference as arising from strong family alliances, continuing ties between Greece and Hawai'i, continuing Greek language usage, and a concern for the welfare of other Greeks. When Joan Maggioros was engaged to be married in Greece, she wrote back that her husband-to-be Paul was "a haole Greek," an allusion to the ethnic joke of our childhoods that expressed his potential for adaptation to Hawai'i and her own distinctive orientation.

As Harold Isaacs has said, "The most universal needs of human beings have apparently been satisfied only in their most parochial groupings."<sup>30</sup> This seems true for the Greek women in Hawai'i. They have lived an important part of their lives within a loosely bound ethnic community, a network of family institutions and kinship, of informal as well as formal associations. They have retained old values and customs within Hawai'i's emerging multi-cultural

society. Believing in Greek fate taught them by their heritage, they changed their fates. Accepting responsibility to others, they have maintained selfhood. Their group belongingness has been the center of their individual personalities. The Greek women in Hawai'i have provided us with insight into a unique historical experience.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900*, 2 vols (Washington, D. C.: United States Census Office, 1901). Although a valuable research document, others should be used as a check against it. For example, I learned from ships' manifests that families listed as Greeks in the Census were Galicians. Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1911), Table 7, p. 252, lists the erroneous "55" figure, too.

<sup>2</sup> See the following: Robert W. Gardner and Eleanor C. Nordyke, *The Demographic Situation in Hawaii*, No. 31 (Honolulu: East-West Center, June, 1974), has a category for "Northern Europeans" but not for Southern; Eleanor C. Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Univ. Press of Hawaii, 1977), is an excellent book that includes the groups recruited for the sugar industry and thus overlooks the Greeks. A work that contains information on Hawai'i is Seraphim G. Canoutas, *Greek-American Guide* (New York: H. Stamis, 1907), p. 279, with mileage from New York City to Honolulu.

Bernhard L. Hormann, "The Caucasian Minority," *Social Process in Hawaii*, Vol. 14, 1950, 38-50, has stated that the haoles are not a single group. His view, however, is that the plantation-recruited Germans, Norwegians, Russians, Spanish, and Italians have become merged with the wider population as a whole.

<sup>3</sup> Virginia K. Cuning, "Ethnicity in a Midwestern City: An Anthropological Investigation of the Greeks in Des Moines," Master's Thesis, Iowa State, 1975.

<sup>4</sup> Harold R. Isaacs, *Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 26-46 and 205. Isaacs makes a point of women and men sharing the same basic group identity while each sex shares separate and common sexual characteristics (n. 2, p. 39).

An immigrant from Smyrna (present-day Ismer) in Honolulu furnishes an example of identity. She is insistently Turkish-Jewish, while several male emigres from her group identify as Greek-Jews. The determining factor is language orientation.

<sup>5</sup> Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 23-24. Although Saloutos has omitted Hawai'i, his study is a basic source for the Greek experience.

Hundreds of thousands of Greeks have dispersed all over the world, residing in such places as Canada, South American countries, Western European and African nations, Australia, New Zealand, and Korea.

<sup>6</sup> Philip Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the U.S.A.* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971).

<sup>7</sup> [William] Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London: George Newnes, 1905), p. 226. Irwin T. Sanders, *Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962), p. 132, has called Greek peasant women "the unknown heroines."

<sup>8</sup> An excellent discussion of the land and dowry system is by Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," in *Peasant Society; A Reader*, ed Jack M. Porter, et al (Boston: Little Brown, 1967), pp. 57-62.

<sup>9</sup> *Prika* is a word used by Greeks interchangeably for the personal possessions the woman brings to the marriage and for the entire dowry that may include land and money.

- <sup>10</sup> Patrick Leigh Fermour, *Mani; Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (London: John Murray, 1958), p. 175, has said that the Greek religion contains "the old gods baptized"—for example, the ancient Dionysus who became St. Dionysus. Orthodoxy is a complicated religion with several divisions in Europe, the Near East, and the United States. My full length study will take up the subject in greater depth.
- <sup>11</sup> Language is another complicated subject which I shall deal with in depth in my longer work. For transliteration purposes, I have used Henry and René Kahane, et al, *Spoken Greek* (New York: Henry Holt, 1945). Spelling of names conforms to regular usage by the people covered in the study.
- <sup>12</sup> Leolagre Russel was reported to be a Greek woman who arrived in Hawai'i in 1892 with her husband. See Ronald Hayashida and David Kittleson, "The Odyssey of Nicholas Russel," *HJH*, Vol. 2, 1977, 110-124. Raw census data from the 1900 U. S. Census, and material from old *Hilo Tribunes* confirm that Mrs. Russel's identity was like that of her husband's: Russian by place of birth and language, and Russian Orthodox by religion. The confusion arose because they were married in Athens.
- <sup>13</sup> George Lycurgus was by no means the first Greek man in Hawai'i, although he became the best known. The first recorded settler arrived in 1879.
- <sup>14</sup> Personal interview with Leo Lycurgus, 26 July 1977. Taylor, *The Distance Magnet*, p. 130, reports that men sometimes worked for brothels and disguised themselves as immigration investigators.
- <sup>15</sup> Athena Lycurgus to Poppy Geracimos, 1904-1911 (trans. Alexandra Shiroma). All quoted material following is from this group of letters.
- <sup>16</sup> Athena Lycurgus to Poppy Geracimos, 23 January 1933.
- <sup>17</sup> Notebook begun by Demosthenes Lycurgus, April 1919, and completed by John Detor, June 1920. Material following on Poppy Detor is from this notebook.
- <sup>18</sup> Personal interview with Pota Jardine, 12 July 1977. All quoted material following is from this interview.
- <sup>19</sup> Bernhard L. Hormann, "The Caucasian Minority," p. 49.
- <sup>20</sup> Personal interview with Urania Michopoulos, 23 August 1977. Personal interview with Valentine Anastopoulos, 18 July 1977. All quoted material following is from these interviews.
- <sup>21</sup> Personal interview with Julia Anastopoulos, 1 July 1977.
- <sup>22</sup> Joshua Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966), p. 181.
- <sup>23</sup> Letter received from Julia Sideris Jones, 24 May 1978.
- <sup>24</sup> Personal interview with Aphrodite Chrones, 6 April 1978. All material following is from this interview.
- <sup>25</sup> Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951), p. 295.
- <sup>26</sup> Personal interview with Catherine Bukes, 3 October 1978.
- <sup>27</sup> Personal interview with Julia Anastopoulos, 1 July 1977.
- <sup>28</sup> Donna Misner Collins, "Ethnic Group Memberships Among Houston's Greek Americans," Unpub. Paper, 1978.
- <sup>29</sup> Letter from Joan Triandafyllides, 8 August 1978.
- <sup>30</sup> Harold Isaacs, *Idols of the Tribe*, p. 25.